

Index

Note: All references are to document numbers

- Aalgard, Ole, 104, 112, 123
Abromowitz, Morton, 49
Acheson, Dean, 139
Afghanistan, 60
AFL-CIO, 131
Agnew, Spiro, 25, 52, 57, 58, 91
Aichi Kiichi, 134
Albania, 204
Albert, Carl, 223
Alsop, Joseph, 151, 222
Anderson, Donald M., 61, 62, 76
Arms control:
 Holdridge memoranda, 96, 109
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 69, 18
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 124, 138
U.S.-PRC communications, 155, 164
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971),
 139, 140, 143
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972),
 231, 232
 Kissinger-Huang Hua discussions,
 220, 227, 243, 246, 252, 253
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 196,
 197, 199
 Pakistan channel, 126
U.S.-Soviet discussions, 126, 199, 220,
 227, 231, 232, 243, 246, 252, 253
Armstrong, Oscar Vance, 8, 34, 86
Asian Pacific Council, 232
Ayub Khan, Mohammad, 231

Ball, George, 197
Bangladesh. *See* Indo-Pakistani conflict.
Barnett, Robert W., 6, 16
Behr, Col. Robert M., 32
Belgium, 2
Bergsten, C. Fred, 57
Berlin issue, 141
Bettencourt, Andrew, 87
Bhumibol Adulyadej (King of
 Thailand), 215
Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, 197, 231
Blood, Archer K., 124
Boatner, Col. James G., 148
Boggs, Hale, 223, 229, 243

Bray, Charles W., III, 121, 207
Brewster, Robert C., 138
Brezhnev, Leonid, 176
Brown, Winthrop G.:
 Arms control, 138
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 14, 4, 13, 23
 ROC-PRC relations, 16
 Tibet, 277
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals,
 49, 72, 129
 U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 217,
 218, 229, 242
 U.S.-ROC relations, 174, 179
 Warsaw Talks, 6, 61, 80
Bruce, David K., 120, 149
Buchanan, John Hall, Jr., 2
Bundy, William P., 2, 6, 271
Burkhardt, Frederick, 248
Burma, 197
Bush, George H. W., 161, 167, 173, 176,
 177, 213
Butz, Earl L., 211, 227
Buzhardt, J. Fred, 148

Cambodia (*see also* Sihanouk, Norodom;
 Vietnam War), 78, 79, 81, 139, 162,
 199
Campbell, R. P., 247
Camps, Miriam, 47
Canada, 2, 92, 93
Cargo, William I., 32, 36, 47
Ceausescu, Nicolae, 20, 94, 102
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) (*see*
 also Helms, Richard M.):
 Covert action program, 30, 257
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 14, 12
 Prisoner release, 143, 164
 Sino-Soviet relations, 15, 56
 Taiwanese independence issue, 88
 Tibet, 273, 274, 278, 280
 U.S.-PRC discussions, 162
Chafee, John H., 148
Chang Ch'un, 162, 174
Chang I-chun, 195
Chang Kuo-t'ao, 140

- Chang Pao-shu, 174
 Chang Wen-chin:
 Indo-Pakistani conflict, 183
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 139, 140, 141, 142, 143
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 162
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 231, 232, 233, 234
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 202
 Chao Ch'i-hua, 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 202, 231
 Chapin, Dwight L., 164
 Chapin, Frank, 10, 30, 107, 273
 Chen, Henry, 159, 172, 205, 225, 241
 Ch'en Ch'u, 176
 Chen Hengli, 251
 Ch'en Ta-ch'ing, 244
 Chen Tu-hsiu, 140
 Chew, Vice Adm. John L., 8
 Chiang, Madame, 174
 Chiang Ching-kuo:
 Covert action program, 257
 Fukien coast raid (1969), 16
 Green-Holdridge Asia trip, 215
 Japanese-PRC relations, 247
 Political situation, 235
 ROC international financial institution participation, 237
 ROC military reorganization, 8, 86
 Senkaku Islands, 134
 Taiwanese independence issue, 92
 U.S. military aid to Republic of China, 1, 58, 92, 256
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals, 114
 U.S. visit, 52, 76, 77, 78
 Chiang Kai-shek:
 Canadian/Italian PRC recognition, 2
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 146
 Mongolia recognition, 272
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 170, 181
 Reagan ROC visit, 170
 ROC military reorganization, 8
 Taiwanese independence issue, 178
 Taiwan status issue, 22
 Taiwan Strait Patrol, 50, 52
 Textile trade negotiations, 121
 U.S. military aid to Republic of China, 1, 22, 50, 93
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals, 22, 52, 74
 Warsaw Talks, 71
 Ch'iao Kuan-hua:
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 231, 232, 233, 234
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 202, 204
 Norwegian channel communications, 104
 Rockefeller dinner, 254, 263
 U.S.-PRC exchanges, 112
 Chi Chao-chu:
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 139, 140, 141, 142, 143
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 162
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 231, 232, 233
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 195, 196, 197, 199, 201, 202, 204
 Chien, Fredrick, 52, 121, 159
 Ch'ien Ta-yung, 195, 198
 Ch'ien Yung-nien, 62
 China. *See* People's Republic of China; Republic of China.
 Chin Hsiao-yi, 21
 Chi P'eng-fei:
 Indo-Pakistani conflict, 183
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 162, 163
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 234
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 183, 195, 198, 201
 U.S.-PRC exchanges, 123, 214
 U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 242
 Chou Chung-feng, 92
 Chou En-lai:
 Congressional visits, 197, 223, 231
 Foreign policy, 103
 Haig China visit (Jan. 1971), 184
 Indo-Pakistani conflict, 139, 140, 143, 183, 184, 231, 232, 233
 Japanese-PRC relations, 241
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 130, 135, 139, 140, 141, 143
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 162, 163, 164, 165
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 231, 232, 233, 234
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972):
 Nixon discussions, 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 204
 Nixon-Mao discussions, 194
 Planning, 143, 162, 164, 183, 184, 193
 Pakistan channel and, 54, 98, 99
 Political situation and, 87, 157

- Chou En-lai—*Continued*
 Taiwanese independence issue, 139, 140, 141, 162, 199, 204
 Taiwan status issue:
 Congressional visit discussions, 223, 231
 Haig discussions, 183
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971) discussions, 139, 140, 143
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971) discussions, 162, 164, 165
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972) discussions, 196, 199, 204
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals, 38, 102, 118, 122
 U.S.-PRC secret communications, 143
 U.S.-Soviet relations, 140, 141, 150, 231, 232
 Vietnam War:
 Chou public statement, 221
 Harbor mining, 226
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971) discussions, 139, 140, 143
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971) discussions, 162, 164, 165
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972) discussions, 231, 232
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972) discussions, 196, 199, 204
 Chow Shu-kai:
 Canadian/Italian PRC recognition, 2
 Chiang Ching-kuo U.S. visit, 76, 77, 78
 Green-Holdridge Asia trip, 215
 Okinawa reversion, 45
 PRC UN representation issue, 159, 169
 Replacement of, 235
 Senkaku Islands, 113, 114
 Taiwanese independence issue, 65, 91, 92
 Taiwan Strait Patrol, 45
 U.S. military aid to Republic of China, 180
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals, 21, 114
 U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 113
 Warsaw Talks, 71
 Ciccolella, Maj. Gen. R. G., 8
 Cline, Ray, 247, 257, 265
 Coe, Frank, 194
 Connally, John B., Jr., 116, 211, 228, 249
 Cook, Richard K., 223
 Cooke, David, 148
 Crane, Kent, 91
 Cripps, Lady Isobel, 196
 Crowe, Philip K., 104, 123
 Cultural exchanges. *See* U.S.-PRC exchanges.
 Cummings, Theodore, 124
 Curran, Joseph E., 127
 Curran, Robert T., 117, 179
 Cushman, Lt. Gen. Robert E., Jr., 108
 Dalai Lama:
 U.S. covert support for, 272, 273, 278, 280
 U.S. visit, 275, 276, 277, 279
 Davies, Richard, 36
 Davis, Jeanne W.:
 PRC UN representation issue, 167
 ROC international financial institution participation, 237
 Sino-Soviet relations, 36, 47
 Tibet, 279
 U.S. aid to Republic of China, 224, 239
 U.S.-PRC exchanges, 217
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals, 117
 U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 217
 Davydov, Boris N., 37
 Dawee Chulasapya, 215
 Deaver, Mike, 170
 Defense, U.S. Department of (*see also* Laird, Melvin R.):
 Arms control, 96
 National Security Study Memorandum 106, 110
 Sino-Soviet relations, 41, 47
 U.S. nuclear policy, 108
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement, 148, 154
 De Gaulle, Charles, 2, 20
 Denney, George C., Jr., 9, 273
 Dent, Frederick B., 211
 Dent, Harry, 133, 134
 De Palma, Samuel, 159, 169, 175
 Derksen, J. J., 66
 Dickerson, Nancy, 183
 Disarmament. *See* Arms control.
 Dobrynin, Anatoly F., 213
 Dole, Robert, 127, 131
 Doolin, Dennis J., 34, 78, 218, 244
 Downey, John Thomas, 143, 164, 200, 229
 Dulles, John Foster, 139, 143, 162, 195, 196, 199, 231
 Dunn, John M., 170

- Ehrlichman, John D., 159, 250
Elbourne, T., 164
Eliot, Theodore L., Jr.:
 Arms control, 96, 138
 Chiang Ching-kuo visit, 52
 Pakistan channel, 98
 PRC UN representation issue, 167
 Tibet, 275, 279
 U.S. military aid to Republic of China, 160, 224, 225, 256
 U.S. military presence in Taiwan, 108
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement, 229
 U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 14, 116, 185
Warsaw Talks, 53, 80
Export-Import Bank, 239
- Fairbank, John K., 229, 231, 232
Farland, Joseph S., 98, 124, 125, 135
Farley, Philip J., 61, 108, 109, 138
Fazio, V. James, 84, 253, 254, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 270
Fecteau, Richard George, 143, 164, 200
Feng Chi-chung, Adm., 52
Flanigan, Peter M., 211, 228, 229
Fletcher, James C., 228
Ford, Gerald, 223, 229, 243
40 Committee (*see also* 303 Committee), 257, 274, 280
Fowler, Jerry, 235
France, 2, 20, 38
Freeman, Charles W., Jr., 195, 198, 201, 242
Friedheim, Jerry W., 148
Froebel, John A., Jr.:
 Japanese-PRC relations, 241
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 159
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 205
ROC international financial institution participation, 245
ROC political situation, 235
Taiwan Strait Patrol, 34
U.S. military aid to Republic of China, 160, 225
U.S.-PRC rapprochement, 21, 154
Froehlke, Robert F., 148
- Galbraith, John Kenneth, 252
Gandhi, Indira, 197, 199, 204, 233
Gardner, James R., 257
Germany, 2, 141, 231, 232, 233, 236, 243
Getz, John I., 277
Gleason, Thomas, 131
- Gleysteen, William H., Jr., 257
Grant, Lindsey, 26, 57, 65, 87
Green, Marshall:
 Arms control, 109
 Asia trip, 215
 Covert action program, 257
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 145
 National Security Study Memorandum 106, 105, 108
Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 195, 198, 201, 203
Peng Ming-min visa issue, 65
PRC UN representation issue, 169
ROC international financial institution participation, 237
ROC political situation, 235
ROC-PRC relations, 16
Senkaku Islands, 113
Taiwanese independence issue, 88
Taiwan status issue, 22, 208
Taiwan Strait Patrol, 34
Tibet, 277, 279, 280
U.S. military aid to Republic of China, 244
U.S. military presence in Taiwan, 108
U.S. nuclear policy, 108
U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals, 21, 22, 25, 49, 52, 72, 117
U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 14
U.S.-ROC relations, 74, 92, 174, 179
Warsaw Talks, 61, 67, 71, 80
Gromyko, Andrei A., 36, 37, 254
Gross, Ernest, 279
Gross, Nelson, 229
Gunneng, Arne, 104
Gwyer, Florence, 135
Gyalu Thondup, 275, 278, 279
- Hackett, James, 229, 279
Haig, Col. Alexander M.:
 China visit (Jan. 1971), 184
 Indo-Pakistani conflict, 176, 177, 183, 184
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 137, 144
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 156
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 231
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 161, 183, 184, 215
PRC UN participation, 171, 173
PRC UN representation issue, 136
Sino-Soviet relations, 15, 32, 38
Taiwanese independence issue, 91
Tibet, 275, 279

- Haig, Col. Alexander M.—*Continued*
 U.S. economic aid to Republic of China, 239
 U.S.-Japanese relations, 166
 U.S. military aid to Republic of China, 134, 160, 224, 244
 U.S. military presence in Taiwan, 219
 U.S.-PRC exchanges, 214
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement, 229
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals, 3, 23, 25, 122
 U.S.-PRC secret communications:
 Netherlands channel, 66
 Norwegian channel, 123
 Sainteny channel, 90, 119, 128
 Walters channel, 84, 119, 150, 164, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190
 U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 111, 185, 228, 229, 236
 U.S.-ROC relations, 91, 170, 179
 U.S.-Soviet relations, 51, 150, 222
 Vietnam War, 187, 188, 189, 190, 269, 270
 Haldeman, H. R., 20, 120, 155, 156, 161
 Halperin, David, 102, 124, 135
 Halperin, Morton, 12, 13, 25
 Han Hsu, 183, 195, 201
 Harbert, Maryann, 164, 200
 Harlow, Bryce, 17, 19, 134
 Hartley, Muriel, 183
 Hartman, Arthur, 13, 101
 Heilmeier, George H., 148
 Helms, Richard M.:
 Covert action program, 30, 257
 Mongolia, 271
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 14, 4
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 106, 97, 105
 PRC political situation, 25, 157
 PRC UN participation, 171
 Sino-Soviet relations, 15
 Tibet, 273
 U.S. military presence in Taiwan, 108
 U.S. nuclear policy, 18, 108
 U.S.-PRC relations:
 Exchanges, 116, 209
 Prisoner release, 164
 Rapprochement proposals, 25, 117, 129
 Trade liberalization, 14, 116, 211, 218, 228, 249
 U.S. aerial reconnaissance, 10
 Vietnam War, 82
 Hicks, Coleman S., 180
 Hilaly, Agha:
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 125, 130, 132, 135
 Pakistan channel, 28, 39, 54, 55, 70, 100
 PRC envoy invitation, 118, 122
 Hillenbrand, Martin J., 67, 271
 Hinton, Dean, 218
 Holdridge, John H.:
 Arms control, 96, 109
 Asia trip, 215
 Cambodia invasion, 81
 Japanese-PRC relations, 247
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 135, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 152
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 159, 162, 172
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 231
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 106, 97, 105
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972):
 Kissinger-Ch'iao discussions, 202
 Nixon-Chou discussions, 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201
 U.S.-ROC discussions, 159, 172
 Pakistan channel, 39
 PRC foreign policy, 9
 PRC political situation, 157
 PRC UN participation, 175
 PRC UN representation issue, 169
 ROC international financial institution participation, 237
 Senkaku Islands, 114, 115
 Sino-Soviet relations, 29, 32, 36, 37, 46, 47
 Taiwanese independence issue, 65, 91
 Taiwan status issue, 208
 Taiwan Strait Patrol, 34, 45, 48, 50
 Tibet, 279
 U.S. economic aid to Republic of China, 57, 239
 U.S.-Japanese relations, 251
 U.S. military aid to Republic of China, 134, 180, 225, 244, 255, 268
 U.S. military presence in Taiwan, 216
 U.S.-PRC relations:
 Exchanges, 112, 217, 218, 248
 Prisoner release, 223
 Rapprochement, 229
 Rapprochement proposals, 21, 25, 38, 114
 Secret communications, 104, 123

- Holdridge, John H.—*Continued*
 U.S.-PRC relations—*Continued*
 Trade liberalization, 131, 185, 217,
 218, 229, 249, 250
 U.S.-ROC relations:
 Chiang Ching-kuo U.S. visit, 76, 77
 Okinawa reversion, 45, 115
 Reagan visit, 170
 Taiwanese independence issue, 91
 Taiwan Strait Patrol, 34, 45, 50
 Yang policy change proposals, 179
 Warsaw Talks, 48, 63, 67, 71, 80
 Hood, William, 270
 Hoover, J. Edgar, 91, 213
 Hope, Bob, 246
 Hormats, Robert:
 ROC international financial
 institution participation, 237
 U.S. economic aid to Republic of
 China, 239
 U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 217,
 228, 229, 236, 249, 250
 Howe, Lt. Cmdr. Jonathan:
 Arms control, 246
 Indo-Pakistani conflict, 173
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 162
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 233,
 236
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 198,
 202, 207
 Taiwan Strait Patrol, 34
 U.S.-PRC secret communications, 173
 Vietnam War, 238, 243
 Wang Hsi-tsanh death, 213
 Hsieh Pang-chih, 60
 Hsiung Hsiang-hau, 162, 195, 198, 201,
 214
 Hsu Chung-ching, 140, 141, 143
 Hu, S. K., 244
 Huang Chen:
 Indo-Pakistani conflict, 155, 173
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 151,
 156
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 155,
 156
 U.S.-PRC secret communications, 90,
 149, 155, 164, 188, 229
 U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 249
 Vietnam War, 188, 252, 269
 Huang Chieh, 162
 Huang Hua:
 Indo-Pakistani conflict, 173, 176, 177,
 213
 Japanese-PRC relations, 254
 Huang Hua—*Continued*
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 139,
 140, 141, 142, 143
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 227,
 236
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 207
 PRC UN participation, 173, 213
 U.S.-PRC exchanges, 214, 220, 222,
 248, 253
 U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 242
 U.S.-Soviet relations, 220, 222, 226,
 227, 243, 246, 252, 253
 Vietnam War, 219, 220, 226, 227, 236,
 243, 246, 252, 253, 254, 258, 263,
 270
 Huang Shao-ku, 174
 Hu Chuan-chung, 198
 Hu Fang Hsien, 198
 Hughes, Gen. J., 164
 Hummel, Arthur W., Jr., 242, 280
 Hurley, Patrick J., 196
 Hyland, William G., 27, 32, 36
 IFIs. *See* International financial
 institutions, ROC participation.
 Ikko Kasuga, 183
 "Immediate U.S. Policy Problems in
 Events of Major Sino-Soviet
 Hostilities," 29, 32, 43
 India (*see also* Indo-Pakistani conflict),
 141, 197, 222
 Indochina. *See* Vietnam War.
 Indonesia, 222
 Indo-Pakistani conflict:
 Kissinger-Farland discussion, 124
 Soviet role, 183, 184
 U.S.-PRC communications:
 Haig-Chou discussions, 183, 184
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971),
 139, 140, 143
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971),
 162, 164
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972),
 231, 232, 233
 Kissinger-Huang Hua discussions,
 173, 176, 213
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 196,
 197, 199
 Walters channel, 155, 173, 177
 U.S.-Soviet discussions, 176, 177
 Interdepartmental Ad Hoc Group, 36,
 40
 International financial institutions, ROC
 participation, 172, 237, 241, 245

- International Longshoreman's Association, 131
- International Monetary Fund (IMF). *See* International financial institutions, ROC participation.
- Iran, 197, 233
- Irwin, John N., II:
- Arms control, 96, 109, 138
 - Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 145, 146
 - National Security Study Memorandum 106, 108
 - U.S. military presence in Taiwan, 108
 - U.S. nuclear policy, 108
 - U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals, 38, 117
 - U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 101, 185, 249
- Italy, 2
- Janka, Les, 169
- Japan (*see also* Sino-Japanese relations; U.S.-Japanese relations):
- Indian relations with, 222
 - National Security Study Memorandum 106, 105
 - ROC relations with, 174, 241
 - U.S.-PRC communications:
 - Haig-Chou discussions, 183
 - Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 137, 139, 140, 143
 - Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 162, 164
 - Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 233
 - Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 196, 197, 199, 200, 215
- Javits, Jacob, 112
- Jenkins, Alfred le Sesne:
- Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 162
 - Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 231
 - Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 195, 198, 201
 - Tibet, 278, 279, 280
- Jha, Lakshmi Kant, 213
- Johnson, Ernest, 131
- Johnson, Adm. Nels, 29, 32
- Johnson, U. Alexis:
- Canadian/Italian PRC recognition, 2
 - Covert action program, 30
 - National Security Study Memorandum 106, 108
 - Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 182
 - PRC UN representation issue, 173
- Johnson, U. Alexis—Continued
- ROC international financial institution participation, 237, 245
 - Senkaku Islands, 134
 - Sino-Soviet relations, 29, 32
 - Taiwan status issue, 208
 - Taiwan Strait Patrol, 34
 - Tibet, 273, 279, 280
 - U.S. aerial reconnaissance over PRC, 10
 - U.S. economic aid to Republic of China, 239
 - U.S. military aid to Republic of China, 93, 255, 256
 - U.S. military presence in Taiwan, 182
 - U.S. nuclear policy, 108
 - U.S.-PRC secret communications, 104
 - U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 249
 - U.S.-ROC relations, 179
 - Warsaw Talks, 61
- Judd, Walter, 196, 197
- Jurich, Anthony, 13, 121
- Kahn, Herman, 36
- Karamessines, Thomas H., 29, 32, 179
- Karrick, Col., 34
- Katz, J. L., 242
- Keating, Kenneth B., 124, 276
- Kennedy, David M.:
- PRC UN participation, 175
 - ROC international financial institution participation, 237
 - Senkaku Islands, 133, 134
 - U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 14, 131
 - U.S.-ROC textile trade negotiations, 121, 133
- Kennedy, Edward, 37
- Kennedy, Col. Richard T.:
- Indo-Pakistani conflict, 177
 - Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 146
 - National Security Study Memorandum 106, 97, 105
 - Pakistan channel, 100
 - Sino-Soviet relations, 46, 47
 - U.S. military aid to Republic of China, 225, 255, 268
 - U.S. military presence in Taiwan, 216
 - U.S.-ROC relations, 179
- Keogh, James, 50
- Khan, Nur, 26
- Khan, Sher Ali, 39
- Khrushchev, Nikita, 197
- Kishi Nobusuke, 166, 174

- Kissinger, Henry A. (*see also* Kissinger
China visit (July 1971); Kissinger
China visit (Oct. 1971); Kissinger
China visit (June 1972), 107, 153
- Arms control:
Brewster memorandum, 138
Holdridge memoranda, 96, 109
U.S.-PRC communications:
China visit (July 1971), 139, 140,
143
China visit (June 1972), 231, 232
Huang Hua discussions, 220,
243, 246, 252
Pakistan channel, 126
Cambodia invasion, 79, 81
Covert action program, 30, 257
Haig China visit (Jan. 1971), 184
Indo-Pakistani conflict:
Farland discussion, 124
U.S.-PRC communications:
China visit (July 1971), 139, 140,
143
China visit (Oct. 1971), 162, 164
China visit (June 1972), 231, 232,
233
Haig-Chou discussions, 183
Haig-Huang Ha discussions, 177
Huang Chen discussions, 155
Huang Hua discussions, 173,
176, 213
Japanese-PRC relations, 241, 247, 251,
252, 254
Mongolia recognition, 271, 272
National Security Study
Memorandum 106, 97, 105, 108
Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972):
Ch'iao discussions, 202
Communiqué, 183, 192, 203, 207,
210, 212
Nixon-Chou discussions, 195, 196,
197, 199, 200, 201, 204
Nixon-Mao discussions, 194
Nixon memorandum, 206
Planning, 143, 147, 155, 156, 161,
162, 164, 183
U.S.-ROC discussions, 152, 159,
172, 205, 207
PRC foreign policy, 103
PRC political situation, 11, 58, 64, 87,
157
PRC UN participation, 171, 173, 175,
213
PRC UN representation issue, 37, 140,
152, 159, 161, 167, 169
- Kissinger, Henry A.—Continued
ROC international financial
institution participation, 237, 241,
245
ROC military reorganization, 1
ROC political situation, 235
Senkaku Islands, 113, 114, 115, 134,
180
Sino-Soviet relations, 37, 38, 75
CIA analysis, 56
Defense Department position, 41
Hyland memorandum, 27
Kosygin visit, 33
Morris memorandum, 46
National Security Study
Memorandum 63, 15, 46
Senior Review Group meetings, 36,
47
U.S.-ROC discussions, 159
Washington Special Action Group
discussions, 29, 32
Soviet military capabilities report,
202, 213
Taiwanese independence issue, 65,
91, 93, 139, 140, 162, 178
Taiwan status issue, 139, 140, 143,
162, 164, 165, 199, 208
Tibet, 273, 274, 275, 279
U.S. economic aid to Republic of
China, 57, 239
U.S.-Japanese relations, 225, 246, 247,
251, 252
U.S. military aid to Republic of
China, 58
Holdridge memoranda, 45, 224,
255, 264
NSC memorandum, 57
Tarr memorandum, 268
U.S.-PRC discussions, 263
U.S.-ROC discussions, 50, 93, 180,
225, 244
U.S. military presence in Taiwan, 108,
154, 182, 216, 220
U.S. nuclear policy, 18, 108
U.S.-PRC exchanges:
Holdridge memoranda, 112, 248
National Security Study
Memorandum 148, 209, 217,
218
Nixon conversations, 113
Travel restriction liberalization, 35,
101, 111
U.S.-PRC discussions, 214, 220,
222, 253

- Kissinger, Henry A.—*Continued*
- U.S.-PRC rapprochement:
 - Congressional visits, 223, 231, 243, 252
 - Defense Department position, 154
 - Narcotics control, 229
 - Solomon memorandum, 229
 - U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals:
 - Holdridge memorandum, 38
 - National Security Study
 - Memorandum 14, 4, 13, 23
 - National Security Study
 - Memorandum 124, 117, 129
 - Nixon memorandum, 3
 - Nixon world trip (1969), 20
 - NSC meeting (Aug. 14, 1969), 25
 - PRC envoy invitation, 69, 72, 73, 99, 100, 102, 120, 122
 - Rogers memorandum, 49
 - Sneider memorandum, 5
 - U.S.-ROC discussions, 21, 52, 114
 - U.S.-PRC relations:
 - U.S. aerial reconnaissance, 10, 85
 - U.S. border violation accusations, 220, 227, 230, 232, 233, 243
 - U.S.-PRC secret communications:
 - Afghanistan channel, 60
 - Netherlands channel, 66, 89
 - Norwegian channel, 104
 - Pakistan channel, 26, 54, 55, 70, 94, 99, 100
 - Romanian channel, 21, 26, 94, 102
 - Sainteny channel, 90, 128
 - Stoessel contacts, 31
 - UN delegation channel, 173
 - Walters channel, 84, 89, 119, 149, 150, 155
 - Watson channel, 214
 - Winters channel, 79
 - U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 17, 101, 111, 131
 - Boeing negotiations, 229, 236
 - Chinese wheat purchase, 250, 252, 253
 - Irwin memorandum, 185
 - National Security Decision
 - Memorandum 17, 14
 - National Security Decision
 - Memorandum 105, 116
 - National Security Decision
 - Memorandum 170, 228
 - National Security Study
 - Memorandum 149, 211, 217, 218
- Kissinger, Henry A.—*Continued*
- U.S.-PRC trade liberalization—
 - Continued*
 - Peterson memorandum, 127
 - Private claims, 218, 249
 - RCA satellite equipment, 229
 - Richardson memorandum, 19
 - U.S.-PRC communications, 242
 - U.S.-ROC discussions, 113
 - U.S.-ROC relations:
 - Chiang Ching-kuo U.S. visit, 52, 76, 77
 - Nixon-Chiang correspondence, 74
 - Nixon-Yen meeting, 93
 - Okinawa reversion, 45, 115
 - Reagan visit, 170
 - Taiwanese independence issue, 65, 91, 93
 - Taiwan Strait Patrol, 34, 45, 48, 50
 - Yang policy change proposals, 174
 - U.S.-Soviet relations:
 - Sonnenfeldt memorandum, 51
 - Soviet Union visit (Sept. 1972), 253
 - U.S.-PRC communications:
 - China visit (July 1971), 140, 141
 - China visit (June 1972), 231, 232
 - Huang Chen discussions, 155
 - Huang Hua discussions, 220, 222, 226, 227, 243, 246, 252, 253
 - Walters channel, 150, 155, 158
 - Vietnam War:
 - Special National Intelligence Estimates, 82, 106
 - U.S.-PRC communications, 183
 - China visit (July 1971), 139, 140, 143
 - China visit (Oct. 1971), 162, 164, 165
 - China visit (June 1972), 231, 232
 - Chou statement, 221
 - Huang Chen discussions, 269
 - Huang Hua discussions, 219, 220, 226, 227, 236, 243, 246, 252, 253, 254, 258, 263
 - Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 202
 - PRC statements, 221, 230
 - Warsaw Talks, 63, 67, 69
 - End of, 80
 - Planning, 6, 48, 53, 59, 61
 - Stoessel reports, 62
 - U.S.-ROC relations and, 71

- Kissinger China visit (July 1971):
Debriefing, 144
Kissinger-Chou discussions, 139, 140,
 141
Planning, 124, 125, 130, 132, 135, 137
Public announcement, 142, 143, 145
U.S.-ROC communications, 145, 152
- Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971):
Debriefing, 163, 164, 165
Kissinger-Chou discussions, 162
NSC paper, 166
Planning, 149, 150, 156, 158, 161
PRC UN representation issue and,
 167, 169
U.S.-ROC communications, 159,
 169
U.S.-ROC discussions, 159, 172
- Kissinger China visit (June 1972):
Debriefing, 234
Kissinger-Chou discussions, 231, 232,
 233
Kissinger-Huang Hua discussions,
 236
Planning, 227
- Kleindienst, Richard G., 111, 209
- Korea:
Solomon memorandum, 229
U.S.-PRC discussions:
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971),
 139, 140, 143
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971),
 162, 164
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972),
 233
 Kissinger-Huang Hua discussions,
 243, 253
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 197,
 199, 203
U.S.-ROC discussions, 77
- Kosygin, Alexei N., 33, 197, 231
- Kovenock, Paul, 235
- Kraft, Joseph, 220
- Kreisberg, Paul H., 61, 62, 67, 72, 80,
 277
- Krogh, Egil, 229
- Kubisch, Jack B., 242
- Ku Cheng-kang, 162
- Kung, K. L., 174
- Lai Ming-ting, 244
- Laird, Melvin R.:
 Chiang Ching-kuo U.S. visit, 76, 78
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 14, 4
- Laird, Melvin R.—Continued
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 106, 97, 108, 110
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 148,
 206
 PRC political situation, 157
 PRC UN participation, 171
 ROC military reorganization, 86
 Sino-Soviet relations, 15
 Taiwan Strait Patrol, 34, 50
 U.S. border violation accusations by
 the PRC, 232, 243
 U.S. military aid to Republic of
 China, 244, 255
 U.S. military presence in Taiwan, 154,
 216
 U.S. nuclear policy, 18, 108
 U.S.-PRC exchanges, 116, 209
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement, 148, 154
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals,
 25, 117
 U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 131
 National Security Decision
 Memorandum 17, 14
 National Security Decision
 Memorandum 105, 116
 National Security Decision
 Memorandum 170, 228
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 149, 211, 218
 Private claims, 249
 RCA satellite equipment, 229
- Laos (*see also* Vietnam War), 106
- Lee Kuan Yew, 215
- Lee Teng-hui, 235
- Lei Yang, 53, 59, 62, 63, 68
- Levin, Mel, 105, 237
- Li, K. T., 121, 174
- Liao, Thomas, 65
- Liao Ho-shu, 6
- Libya, 200
- Li Chu-ching, 62
- Li Chung-ying, 195
- Lien Cheng-pao, 195
- Li Hsien-nien, 195, 201
- Lincoln, George A., 25
- Lindjord, Haakon, 13, 36, 47
- Lindquist, Warren, 236
- Linebaugh, D., 96
- Lin Piao, 11, 87, 157, 159, 193
- Li Tsung-ying, 198
- Liu, Henry, 236
- Liu Shao-chi, 140, 159
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, 38, 66

- Lo Kuei Po, 104
 Loomis, Henry, 13, 47
 Lord, Winston:
 Indo-Pakistani conflict, 176, 177
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 135, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 151, 162, 166
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 227, 231, 232, 233, 236
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 106, 97
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972):
 Kissinger-Ch'iao discussions, 202
 Nixon-Chou discussions, 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 204
 Nixon-Mao discussions, 194
 Planning, 155
 PRC UN participation, 173
 Taiwan status issue, 208
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement, 223
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals, 13, 20
 U.S.-PRC secret communications, 66, 128
 U.S.-Soviet relations, 231, 246
 Vietnam War, 219, 220, 258, 263, 269, 270
 Lovestone, Lord Jay, 131
 Lucet, Charles Ernest, 38
 Lynn, 218
 Lynn, Laurence E., Jr., 25, 57
- MacGregor, Clark, 205, 223
 Ma Chieh-hsien, 195
 MacIntyre, Carl, 214
 MacIntyre, Thomas J., 197
 Macovescu, Gheorghe, 94
 Malik, Adam, 169, 196
 Malraux, Andre, 192
 Manach, Manoël, 38
 Mansfield, Michael:
 China visit (April 1972), 223, 229, 231
 Planning, 197, 204, 213, 214, 220
 Return China visit proposals, 243, 252, 254
 Mao Tse-tung:
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 163
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 140, 164, 193, 194
 Political situation, 11, 87, 140, 157, 234
 PRC foreign policy, 9, 11
 Vietnam War, 81
- Marcos, Ferdinand, 215
 Marshall, Gen. George C., 196
 Matskevich, Vladimir, 176
 Matsu. *See* Offshore Islands.
 Matthews, Diane, 135
 Maurer, Ion Gheorghe, 94
 McCain, Adm. John S., Jr., 50
 McCloskey, Robert, 155, 159
 McConaughy, Walter P., Jr.:
 Canadian/Italian PRC recognition, 2
 Covert action program, 257
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 145, 146
 Mongolia recognition, 272
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 124, 117
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 181
 PRC UN representation issue, 136
 ROC military reorganization, 8, 86
 ROC-PRC relations, 16
 Taiwan status issue, U.S.-ROC
 discussions, 22
 U.S. military aid to Republic of
 China, 1, 58, 92, 244, 255, 268
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals,
 22, 52
 U.S.-ROC relations, 52, 76, 78, 170,
 174, 179
 Warsaw Talks, 71
 McCracken, Paul, 76, 108
 McGinnis, John J., 218
 McGovern, George, 231, 232
 McHenry, Donald, 13, 36, 47
 McLaughlin, Gerald Ross, 164
 McLellan, Robert, 111
 McManis, David, 119, 270
 McNamara, Robert S., 237, 245
 Meany, George, 127, 197
 Metson, W. G., 242
 Middle East, 173, 199, 200
 Milliken, Roger, 133, 134
 Mills, Wilbur D., 134
 Mitchell, John:
 Covert action program, 30
 Resignation of, 192
 Sino-Soviet relations, 29
 Tibet, 273
 U.S. aerial reconnaissance over PRC,
 10
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals,
 25
 U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 116
 Mongolia, 21, 140, 197, 271, 272

- Moorer, Adm. Thomas H.:
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 106, 110
Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 148, 182
PRC UN participation, 171
U.S. border violation accusations by the PRC, 232
U.S. military presence in Taiwan, 108, 182
U.S. nuclear policy, 108
U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 116, 131, 218
Moorsteen, Richard, 97
Moose, Richard, 6
Morris, Roger, 46
Mosbacher, Emil, 113
Moser, Leo J., 169, 235, 244
Murphy, Rear Adm. Daniel J., 148, 154, 230, 243
Murray, Col. Paul, 108, 154

Nakasone Yasuhiro, 162
National Committee for U.S.-Chinese Relations, 217
National Intelligence Estimates:
 NIE 11/13-69, "The USSR and China," 24
 NIE 13-3-70, "Communist China's General Purpose and Air Defense Forces," 83
 NIE 13-3-72, "China's Military Policy and General Purpose Forces," 240
 NIE 13-7-70, "Communist China's International Posture," 95
 NIE 13-8-69, "Communist China's Strategic Weapons Program," 7
 NIE 13-8-71, 168
 NIE 18-8/1-69, "Communist China's Strategic Weapons Program," 42
National Security Council, 25, 166
National Security Decision Memoranda (NSDM):
 No. 17, 14, 101
 No. 105, 116
 No. 155, 185
 No. 170, 228
 No. 188, 249
National Security Study Memoranda (NSSM):
 No. 10, 5
 No. 14, 4, 12, 13, 23
 No. 63, 15, 36, 40, 41, 46
 National Security Study Memoranda (NSSM)—Continued
 No. 69, 18, 108
 No. 106, 97, 105, 108, 110
 No. 124, 117, 129, 138
 No. 141, 171, 175
 No. 148, 209, 217, 218
 No. 149, 211, 217, 218
Negroponte, John D., 231, 232, 269
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 141, 197, 233
Netherlands, 66, 89
Neubert, Joseph Walter, 35, 117
Neumann, Robert G., 60
Ne Win, 197
Nixon, Patricia, 164, 197
Nixon, Richard M. (*see also* Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972)), 58, 64, 153
 Cambodia invasion, 79, 81
 Green/Holdridge Asia trip, 215
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971):
 Briefing discussions, 137
 Debriefing, 144
 Kissinger-Farland discussions, 124
 Pakistan channel communications, 130, 132, 135
 Rogers discussions, 125
 U.S.-ROC discussions, 146
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 149, 156, 163, 164, 165
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 234
 Mongolia recognition, 271, 272
 Pakistan channel, 39, 54, 55, 70, 94, 99
 PRC foreign policy, 103
 PRC political situation, 11, 157
 PRC UN participation, 173, 213
 PRC UN representation issue, 136, 159, 161, 167
 "The Real Road to Peace" article, 233
 Senkaku Islands, 134
 Shanghai Communiqué (Feb. 1972), 192, 205, 207, 210, 212
 Sino-Soviet relations, 15, 33, 37, 56, 75, 200
 Taiwan status issue, 196, 198, 199, 208, 233
 Tibet, 274, 275, 279
 U.S. aerial reconnaissance over PRC, 10, 85
 U.S.-Japanese relations, 44, 166
 U.S. military aid to Republic of China, 93
 U.S.-PRC exchanges, 35, 111, 113
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement, 229
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals, 3

- Nixon, Richard M.—*Continued*
- U.S.-PRC rapprochement
 - proposals—*Continued*
 - National Security Study
 - Memorandum 14, 4
 - NSC meeting (Aug. 14, 1969), 25
 - PRC envoy invitation, 69, 72, 99, 100, 102, 118, 120, 122
 - Rogers memorandum, 49
 - U.S.-Pakistani discussions, 20
 - U.S.-ROC discussions, 52, 74
 - Vietnam War and, 38
 - World trip (1969), 20
 - U.S.-PRC secret communications:
 - Afghanistan channel, 60
 - Netherlands channel, 66, 89
 - Norwegian channel, 104, 123
 - Romanian channel, 20, 94, 102
 - Stoessel contacts, 31
 - Walters channel, 89, 149, 155
 - Winters channel, 79
 - U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 14, 17, 111, 113, 116, 131, 185
 - U.S.-ROC relations:
 - Chiang Ching-kuo visit, 76
 - Okinawa reversion, 44
 - Taiwan Strait Patrol, 34, 44, 50
 - Textile trade negotiations, 121, 133
 - Yen meeting, 93
 - U.S.-Soviet relations, 222, 227
 - Vietnam War, 186, 196, 221, 226, 227
 - Warsaw Talks:
 - Kissinger memoranda, 63, 67, 69
 - Planning, 6, 53, 59, 61
 - Stoessel reports, 62
 - U.S.-ROC relations and, 71
 - World trip (1969), 17, 20, 21
 - Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972):
 - Defense Department discussions, 148
 - Green/Holdridge Asia trip and, 215
 - Kissinger-Ch'iao discussions, 202
 - Kissinger China visit (July 1971) discussions, 140, 143
 - Nixon-Chou discussions, 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 204
 - Nixon-Kissinger conversations, 147, 164, 165, 192, 207
 - Nixon-Mao discussion, 194
 - Nixon memorandum, 206
 - NSC paper, 166
- Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972)—
- Continued*
 - Planning, 143, 147, 155, 156, 158, 161, 163, 164, 183, 193
 - PRC political situation and, 157
 - Public announcement, 142, 143, 145
 - Publicity, 147, 165, 183, 197, 201, 204, 206
 - Rogers-Chi discussions, 198
 - Shanghai Communiqué, 165, 183, 192, 199, 202, 203, 205, 207, 210, 212
 - U.S. aerial reconnaissance and, 182
 - U.S. political situation and, 183
 - U.S.-ROC communications, 152, 159, 170, 172, 181, 205, 207
- Nixon Doctrine, 71, 76, 78, 105, 110, 148
- Nuclear weapons, 18, 108
- Nutter, G. Warren:
- Chiang Ching-kuo U.S. visit, 78
 - National Security Study
 - Memorandum 14, 13
 - Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 148
 - Sino-Soviet relations, 29, 32, 36, 41
 - Taiwan Strait Patrol, 34
 - U.S. military aid to Republic of China, 244, 255
 - U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 131, 218
- Nu, U, 197
- Odeon, Phil, 216
- Offshore Islands, 1, 22, 199, 208
- Ortona, Egidio, 2
- Osborn, David Lawrence, 106, 117
- Packard, David:
- Arms control, 96
 - Chiang Ching-kuo U.S. visit, 78
 - Covert action program, 30
 - National Security Study
 - Memorandum 106, 108
 - Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 148
 - Taiwan Strait Patrol, 50
 - Tibet, 273
 - U.S. aerial reconnaissance over PRC, 10
 - U.S. military aid to Republic of China, 50, 57, 93
 - U.S. military presence in Taiwan, 108

- Packard, David—*Continued*
 U.S. nuclear policy, 108
 U.S.–PRC trade liberalization, 111
- Pakistan. *See* Indo-Pakistani conflict; Pakistan channel.
Pakistan channel:
 Activation of, 20, 26, 94
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971) and, 124, 125, 130, 132, 135
 Kissinger memoranda, 39, 54, 55, 70, 99
 U.S.–Pakistani discussions, 28, 39, 54, 55, 98, 100
- Pedersen, Richard F., 22, 36, 159, 169
- Peng Hua, 195, 201
- Peng Ming-min, 65, 91, 92, 93, 178, 199
- People's Republic of China (PRC) (*see also* PRC UN participation; Sino-Japanese relations; Sino-Soviet relations; Taiwan status issue; Tibet; *headings beginning with U.S.–PRC*):
 Canadian recognition, 2, 92, 93
 CIA briefing (Aug. 1969), 25
 Foreign policy, 9, 11, 23, 103
 Indian relations with, 141, 197
 Military capabilities, 7, 25, 42, 83, 168, 240
Political situation:
 Grant memorandum, 87
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972) and, 234
 Kissinger memoranda, 11, 58, 64
 National Intelligence Estimate, 95
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972) and, 157
 NSC meeting, 25
 U.S.–PRC discussions, 140
 U.S.–ROC discussions, 172
ROC relations with (*see also* Taiwan status issue), 16, 172
- Peterson, Peter G.:
 Senkaku Islands, 133, 134
 U.S.–PRC trade liberalization, 127, 131, 228, 229
 U.S.–ROC textile trade negotiations, 133
 U.S.–Soviet relations, 243
- Philippines, 21, 215
- Phintso Thonden, 275
- Phrapas Charusathien, 215
- Platt, Nicholas, 198
- Porson, Sophia K., 192
- Pote Sarasin, 215
- PRC UN participation (*see also* PRC UN representation issue), 171, 173, 175, 213
- PRC UN representation issue, 167
 National Security Study Memorandum 14, 23
- Nixon–McConaughy discussions, 136
- Soviet position, 37
- U.S.–Pakistani discussions, 20
- U.S.–PRC discussions, 140, 162, 164, 198
- U.S.–PRC rapprochement proposals and, 6
- U.S.–ROC communications, 152, 159, 169
- Propaganda. *See* Covert action program under U.S.–PRC relations.
- Pursley, Brig. Gen. Robert E., 78, 148, 154, 160, 224
- Quemoy. *See* Offshore Islands.
- Radford, Charles, 135
- Reagan, Ronald, 169, 170
- Redman, Gen. Albert, 164, 184
- Reischauer, Edwin O., 143, 196, 197
- Republic of China (ROC) (*see also* Taiwanese independence issue; Taiwan status issue; U.S. military aid to Republic of China; U.S. military presence in Taiwan):
 International financial institution participation, 172, 237, 241, 245
 Japanese relations with, 174, 241
 Military capabilities, 266
 Political situation, 88, 235
 PRC relations with (*see also* Taiwan status issue), 16, 172
 U.S. economic aid to, 57, 239
- Richardson, Elliot L.:
 Mongolia recognition, 272
 Sino-Soviet relations, 15, 36
 Taiwan Strait Patrol, 34
 U.S.–PRC exchanges, 19, 209
 U.S.–PRC rapprochement proposals, 25, 38, 49, 53
 U.S.–PRC trade liberalization, 14, 17, 19
 U.S.–ROC relations, 91
- Richardson, John, Jr., 217, 218
- Ridge, Col. T. L., 244
- Riland, R. Kenneth, 52
- Rockefeller, Nelson, 120, 254, 263

- Rodman, Peter W., 204, 221, 226, 252, 253, 254
- Rogers, William P.:
- Arms control, 138
 - Canadian/Italian PRC recognition, 2
 - Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 125
 - Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 161
 - Mongolia recognition, 271, 272
 - National Security Study
 - Memorandum 106, 97, 105
 - Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 181, 195, 198, 201, 205, 206
 - Pakistan channel, 98
 - PRC political situation, 157
 - PRC UN participation, 171
 - PRC UN representation issue, 152, 159, 161, 167, 169
 - ROC international financial institution participation, 245
 - ROC military reorganization, 86
 - Senkaku Islands, 134
 - Sino-Soviet relations, 15, 37
 - Taiwan status issue, 22, 198, 208
 - Tibet, 275, 277, 279
 - U.S. economic aid to Republic of China, 57
 - U.S.-Japanese relations, 44
 - U.S. nuclear policy, 18
 - U.S.-PRC exchanges, 19, 35, 116, 209, 214
 - U.S.-PRC rapprochement, 229
 - U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals, 49
 - National Security Study
 - Memorandum 14, 4
 - National Security Study
 - Memorandum 124, 117
 - NSC meeting (Aug. 14, 1969), 25
 - PRC envoy invitation, 72, 73
 - Public statements, 45, 47
 - Senate Foreign Relations Committee discussions, 13
 - U.S.-ROC discussions, 22
 - U.S.-PRC secret communications, 60
 - U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 14, 116, 211, 228, 229, 242, 249
 - U.S.-ROC relations, 44, 50, 74, 76, 121, 134
 - U.S.-Soviet relations, 51
 - Vietnam War, 246
 - Warsaw Talks, 6, 53, 61, 67, 80
 - Romania, 20, 21, 26, 94, 102
 - Romulo, Carlos P., 215
 - Rostow, Walt W., 275
- Ruina, Jack, 138
- Rush, Kenneth, 218
- Ryan, Gen. John D., 148
- Sainteny, Jean, 38, 90, 119, 128
- Salisbury, Harrison, 231
- SALT talks. *See* Arms control.
- Samuels, Nathaniel, 237
- Sato Eisaku, 139, 174
- Saunders, Harold H.:
- Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 135
 - Pakistan channel, 26, 28, 55
 - Sino-Soviet relations, 32
 - U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals, 20, 118
- Scali, John A., 195, 198, 201, 213
- Schlesinger, James R., 76
- Schneider, David T., 277, 278, 280
- Schroeder, Gerhard, 233, 236, 243
- Schweitzer, Pierre Paul, 245
- Scott, Harold B., 229
- Scott, Hugh:
- China visit (April 1972), 223, 229, 231
 - China visit planning, 197, 204, 213, 214, 220
 - Shanghai Communiqué, 207
- Seamans, Robert C., 78, 148
- Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 108, 154
- Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 13
- Senior Review Group, 13, 36, 47, 108, 129, 217, 218
- Senkaku Islands, 113, 114, 115, 133, 134, 180
- Service, John Stewart, 162, 178
- Shakespeare, Frank, 36, 108, 116
- Shanghai Communiqué (Feb. 1972):
- Haig-Chou discussions, 183
 - Nixon-Kissinger communications, 165, 192, 207, 210, 212
- Text, 203
- U.S.-PRC discussions, 199, 202
- U.S.-ROC discussions, 205, 207
- Shen, James C. H.:
- Chiang Ching-kuo U.S. visit, 77
 - Japanese-PRC relations, 241, 251
 - Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 145, 152
 - Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 159
 - Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 172, 181, 205, 207
- PRC UN representation issue, 159, 169
- U.S.-Japanese relations, 247, 251
- U.S. military aid to Republic of China, 180, 225, 244

- Shen Chang-huan, 235, 237
Shen Chien-hung, 76, 78, 92, 134
Shen Jo-yun, 195, 198
Sherman, George, 161
Shih Yen-hua:
 Indo-Pakistani conflict, 176, 177
 Japanese-PRC relations, 254
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 236
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 204
 U.S.-Soviet relations, 243, 246, 252, 253
 Vietnam War, 220, 238, 243, 258, 259,
 260, 261, 262, 263, 270
Shoesmith, Thomas P., 16, 34, 88, 113
Sihanouk, Norodom (Prince of
 Cambodia), 139, 162, 199, 233, 236,
 252
Simons, Thomas W., 62
Sino-Japanese relations:
 National Intelligence Estimate, 95
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 14, 23
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 106, 105
 Special National Intelligence
 Estimate, 106
 U.S.-PRC discussions, 252, 254
 U.S.-ROC discussions, 241, 247, 251
 Warsaw Talks and, 6
Sino-Soviet relations:
 CIA analysis, 56
 Defense Department position, 41, 47
 Hyland memorandum, 27
 Interdepartmental Ad Hoc Group
 paper, 40, 41
 Kissinger memoranda, 37, 75
 Kosygin visit, 33
 Morris memorandum, 46
 National Intelligence Estimates, 24, 95
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 14, 13, 23
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 63, 15, 36, 40, 41,
 46
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 106, 106
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972) and,
 157, 204
 Senior Review Group meetings, 36, 47
 Tibet and, 273
 U.S.-PRC discussions, 137, 164, 197,
 200, 254
 U.S.-ROC discussions, 76, 159
 Washington Special Actions Group
 discussions, 29, 32, 43
 Sisco, Joseph J., 39, 273, 279, 280
 Smith, Abbot, 82
 Smith, Gerald, 171
 Smith, Gerard, 51
 Smith, K. Wayne, 108
 Smith, R. Jack, 13, 18, 36, 47
 Smith, Walter Bedell, 143, 195
 Smyser, W. Richard:
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 135,
 139, 140, 141, 142, 143
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals,
 72
 U.S.-PRC secret communications, 90,
 128
 Sneider, Richard L., 1, 3, 5, 13, 14
 Snow, Edgar, 103, 123, 140, 197
 Sobajic, Vojko, 60
 Solomon, Richard H.:
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972),
 231
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 148
 Taiwanese independence issue, 178
 U.S.-PRC exchanges, 248
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement, 229
 U.S.-PRC trade liberalization, 250
 Vietnam War, 230
 Sonnenfeldt, Helmut:
 Arms control, 96
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 14, 13
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 106, 97, 105
 Sino-Soviet relations, 29, 36, 37, 46, 47
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals, 5
 U.S.-Soviet relations, 51
 Sorensen, Theodore, 37
 South Asia crisis. *See* Indo-Pakistani
 conflict.
 Soviet military capabilities report, 176,
 202, 213
 Soviet Union. *See* Sino-Soviet relations;
 Soviet military capabilities report;
 U.S.-Soviet relations.
 Spaak, Paul Henri, 143
 Spain, James W., 26
 Special National Intelligence Estimates:
 SNIE 13-9-70, "Chinese Reactions to
 Possible Developments in
 Indochina," 82
 SNIE 13-10-71, "Communist China's
 Reactions to Developments in
 Laos," 106
 SNIE 13-69, "Communist China and
 Asia," 9

- Special National Intelligence
Estimates—*Continued*
SNIE 43–1–72, “Taipei’s Capabilities and Intentions Regarding Nuclear Weapons Development,” 266
- Spiers, Ronald I., 138
- Stans, Maurice, 14, 97, 116, 227
- Starbird, Linwood R., 145, 174
- Starr, Robert I., 208
- Stearman, William L., 37
- Steenhoven, Graham D., 139
- Stoessel, Walter J., 6, 31, 53, 62, 63, 68
- Stone, Jeremy, 248
- Stuart, Richard K., 257, 265
- Sullivan, William, 72
- Sun, Y. S., 174
- Swank, Emory C., 37, 61, 67
- Sylvester, Charles T., 146
- Szulc, Tad, 155
- Taber, Lt. Gen., Robert, 148
- Taiwanese independence issue:
CIA assessment, 88
Haig memorandum, 91
Holdridge memoranda, 65, 178
Shanghai Communiqué (Feb. 1972), 212
U.S.–PRC discussions, 139, 140, 141, 143, 162, 166, 173, 183, 199
U.S.–ROC discussions, 92, 93
- Taiwan status issue (*see also* PRC UN representation issue; Taiwanese independence issue; U.S.–ROC relations):
Froeb memorandum, 235
National Security Study
Memorandum 14 and, 23
Nixon–Kissinger conversations, 120, 192
Nixon–McConaughy discussions, 136
Rogers memorandum, 208
Truman statements, 137
U.S.–PRC communications:
Congressional visits, 223
Haig–Chou discussions, 183
Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 137, 139, 140, 143
Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 162, 164, 165, 166
Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 231, 233
Kissinger–Huang Hua discussions, 236
- Taiwan status issue—*Continued*
U.S.–PRC communications—
Continued
Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 196, 198, 199, 203, 204
Pakistan channel, 99
Snow–Chou discussions, 103
Warsaw Talks, 61, 62, 63, 67, 68
U.S.–ROC discussions, 22, 152, 205, 207
- Taiwan Strait Patrol, 34, 38, 44, 45, 48, 50, 52
- Tanaka, Kakeui, 241, 251, 254
- T’ang, Nancy, 183
- T’ang Wen-sheng:
Indo-Pakistani conflict, 176, 177
Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 139, 140, 141, 142, 143
Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 162
Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 231, 232, 233
Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 194, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 204
PRC UN participation, 173
- Tarr, Curtis, 268
- Taylor, Gen., Robert, 86
- Taylor, R., 164
- Thailand, 215, 253
- Thanom Kittikachorn, 215
- Thayer, Harry E. T., 277
- Thompson, Llewellyn E., Jr., 51
303 Committee (*see also* 40 Committee), 10, 30, 273, 278
- Thupten Ningee, 275
- Tibet:
Dalai Lama U.S. visit, 275, 276, 277, 279
U.S. covert support, 273, 274, 278, 280
- Timmons, William, 223
- Ting Yuan-hung, 195, 198
- Train, Russell E., 171
- Truman, Harry S., 137, 196
- Tsao Kuei Sheng, 149, 151, 155, 189, 214, 248
- Tschen Hiong-fei, 170
- Tsiang Ting-fu, 174
- Tsien Ta-yung, 231
- Tucker, Gardiner L., 78
- Turkey, 233
- Unger, Lt. Gen. F. T., 13, 36
- United Nations. *See* PRC UN participation; PRC UN representation issue.

- U.S.-Japanese relations:
 Defense Department position, 154
 Kishi talks, 166
 Kissinger meetings, 225, 246, 247, 251, 252
 Nixon-McConaughy discussions, 136
 Okinawa reversion, 44, 45, 113, 114, 115, 133, 134, 139, 162
 Senkaku Islands, 113, 114, 115, 133, 134, 180
 U.S. military presence in Taiwan and, 105
 U.S.-PRC discussions, 246, 252
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals and, 6, 129
 U.S.-ROC discussions, 247, 251
 U.S. military aid to Republic of China:
 Haig memorandum, 160
 Holdridge memoranda, 45, 224, 255, 264
 Kissinger memorandum, 58
 NSC memorandum, 57
 Operation Enhance, 256, 263, 264, 268
 Rogers-Chiang Kai-shek discussions, 22
 Senkaku Islands and, 134
 Sneider memorandum, 1
 Tarr memorandum, 268
 U.S.-PRC discussions, 263
 U.S.-ROC discussions:
 Kissinger-Chou Shu-kai discussions, 180
 Kissinger memorandum, 50
 Kissinger-Shen discussions, 172, 225
 Laird-Chiang Ching-kuo discussions, 78
 Laird-Shen discussions, 244
 McConaughy-Chiang Ching-kuo discussions, 8, 86, 92, 256
 Nixon-Chiang Ching-kuo discussions, 76
 Nixon-Yen discussions, 93
 U.S. military presence in Taiwan:
 Laird memorandum, 154
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 14, 12
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 106, 105, 108, 110
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972) and, 182
 Nixon-Kissinger conversations, 207
 Odeen memorandum, 216
 Taiwan Strait Patrol, 34, 38, 44, 45, 48, 50, 52
 U.S. military presence in Taiwan—
Continued
 U.S.-PRC communications, 99, 130, 139, 162, 164, 183, 220
 U.S.-ROC discussions, 52, 205
 Vietnam War and, 207
 U.S. nuclear policy, 18, 108
 U.S.-PRC exchanges:
 Holdridge memoranda, 112, 248
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 124, 129
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 148, 209, 217, 218
 Nixon-Kissinger conversations, 113
 Solomon memorandum, 229
 Travel restriction liberalization, 19, 35, 101, 111, 116
 U.S.-PRC discussions, 123, 204, 214, 220, 222, 232, 253
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement:
 Congressional visits, 223, 229, 231
 Mansfield return visit proposals, 243, 252, 254
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972)
 discussions, 197, 204
 Planning, 197, 204, 213, 214, 220
 Defense Department position, 148, 154
 Narcotics control, 229
 Nixon-Kissinger conversations, 192
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement (*see also* Kissinger China visit (July 1971); Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971); Kissinger China visit (June 1972); Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972); U.S.-PRC exchanges; U.S.-PRC secret communications; U.S.-PRC trade liberalization):
 Solomon memorandum, 229
 U.S.-ROC discussions, 225
 U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals (*see also* U.S.-PRC rapprochement; U.S.-PRC secret communications):
 French-PRC discussions, 38
 Holdridge memorandum, 38
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 14, 4, 12, 13
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 124, 117, 129
 Nixon-Kissinger conversations, 120
 Nixon memorandum, 3
 PRC envoy invitation, 69, 72, 73, 99, 100, 102, 118, 120
 Rogers memorandum, 49

- U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals—
Continued
- Sneider memorandum, 5
 - U.S.-French discussions, 20
 - U.S.-Pakistani discussions, 20
 - U.S.-ROC discussions, 21, 22, 45, 52, 74, 114
- U.S.-PRC relations (*see also* U.S.-PRC rapprochement; U.S.-PRC rapprochement proposals):
- Covert action program, 30, 257
 - Force renunciation agreement, 110, 143
 - Prisoner release, 129, 137, 143, 164, 200, 223, 229
 - Soviet military capabilities report, 176, 202, 213
 - U.S. aerial reconnaissance, 10, 85, 166, 182
 - U.S. border violation accusations, 182, 219, 220, 222, 227, 229, 230, 232, 233, 243
- U.S.-PRC secret communications:
- Afghanistan channel, 60
 - Netherlands channel, 66, 89
 - Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972) discussions, 204
 - Norwegian channel, 104, 112, 123
 - Pakistan channel:
 - Activation of, 20, 26, 94
 - Kissinger China visit (July 1971) and, 124, 125, 130, 132, 135
 - Kissinger memoranda, 39, 54, 55, 70, 99
 - U.S.-Pakistani discussions, 28, 39, 54, 55, 98, 100
 - Romanian channel, 20, 21, 26, 94, 102
 - Sainteny channel, 90, 119, 128
 - Sobajic contacts, 60
 - Stoessel contacts, 31, 53
 - UN delegation channel, 173
 - U.S.-Soviet relations, 150
 - Walters channel:
 - Activation of, 84, 89, 119, 143
 - Closure of, 214
 - Indo-Pakistani conflict, 155, 173, 177
 - Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 149, 151
 - Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 149, 155, 156, 158, 164
 - Vietnam War, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191
 - Watson channel, 213, 214, 229, 242
 - Winters channel, 79
- U.S.-PRC trade liberalization:
- Boeing negotiations, 229, 236
 - Chinese wheat purchase, 250, 252, 253
- Irwin memorandum, 185
- Kissinger memoranda, 17, 101, 111, 131
- National Security Decision Memorandum 17, 14, 101
- National Security Decision Memorandum 105, 116
- National Security Decision Memorandum 170, 228
- National Security Study Memorandum 149, 211, 217, 218
- Peterson memorandum, 127
- Private claims, 217, 218, 229, 242, 249
- Richardson memorandum, 19
- Solomon memorandum, 229
- U.S.-PRC communications, 190, 198, 242
- U.S.-ROC discussions, 113
- Warsaw Talk plans, 6
- U.S.-ROC relations (*see also* U.S. military aid to Republic of China; U.S. military presence in Taiwan; U.S.-ROC communications *under other topics*):
- Agnew visit, 52, 58
 - Chiang Ching-kuo visit, 52, 76
 - Defense commitment, 1, 23, 34, 52, 78, 205, 251
 - Green-Holdridge Asia trip, 215
 - Mongolia recognition and, 271, 272
 - Nixon-Chiang correspondence, 74
 - Nixon-Yen meeting, 93
 - Okinawa reversion, 44, 45, 115
 - Reagan visit, 170
 - ROC military reorganization, 1, 8, 86
 - Taiwanese independence issue and, 65, 91, 92, 93
 - Textile trade negotiations, 121, 133, 134
 - Warsaw Talks and, 71, 76
 - Yang policy change proposals, 174, 179
- U.S.-Soviet relations:
- Arms control, 126, 199, 220, 227, 231, 232, 243, 246, 252, 253
 - Indo-Pakistani conflict and, 183, 184
 - Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971) and, 156
 - Kissinger Soviet Union visit (Sept. 1972), 253

- U.S.-Soviet relations—*Continued*
 National Security Study
 Memorandum 14, 13
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972) and,
 197, 204
 Sonnenfeldt memorandum, 51
 Summit, 156, 213, 222, 227, 231
 U.S.-PRC communications:
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971),
 140, 141
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972),
 231, 232
 Kissinger-Huang Hua discussions,
 220, 222, 226, 227, 243, 246,
 252, 253
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 196,
 197
 Walters channel, 150, 155, 158
 Van Hollen, Christopher, 277, 278, 280
 Vannoy, Rear Adm. Frank W., 47
 Veliotes, Nicholas A., 138
 Vietnam War:
 Canadian/Italian PRC recognition
 and, 2
 Holdridge memorandum, 38
 National Intelligence Estimates, 95
 PRC envoy invitation and, 120
 Rogers public statements, 246
 Sino-Soviet relations and, 32, 75, 183
 Special National Intelligence
 Estimates, 82, 106
 U.S. harbor mining, 226, 229
 U.S. military presence in Taiwan and,
 207
 U.S.-PRC communications, 219
 Haig-Chou discussions, 183, 184
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971),
 139, 140, 143
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971),
 162, 164, 165
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972),
 231, 232, 236
 Kissinger-Huang Chen
 discussions, 269
 Kissinger-Huang Hua discussions,
 219, 220, 226, 227, 236, 243,
 246, 252, 253, 254, 258, 263
 Lord-Huang Hua discussions, 270
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 196,
 199, 202, 203, 204
 Nixon-Chou communications, 226
 PRC statements, 221, 230, 259, 261
 U.S. statements, 260, 262
 Vietnam War—*Continued*
 U.S.-PRC communications—
 Continued
 Walters channel, 186, 187, 188, 189,
 190, 191
 U.S.-PRC secret communications
 and, 104
 U.S. prisoner execution issue, 238
 U.S.-ROC discussions, 21, 22, 77,
 225
 Viorst, Milton, 212
 Vogt, Lt. Gen. John W., 131, 148
 Volcker, Paul A., 237, 245
 Vorontsov, Yuli M., 176
 Walker, R., 164
 Walters, Maj. Gen. Vernon A. (*see also*
 Walters channel under U.S.-PRC
 secret communications), 214, 236
 Wang, Martin, 121
 Wang, Gen. Tiger, 8
 Wang Chen, 198
 Wang Chi, 229
 Wang Hai-jung:
 Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 140,
 141, 143
 Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971),
 162
 Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 232,
 233
 Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 194,
 195, 196, 197, 199, 201
 Wang Hsi-tsanh, 213
 Wang Ming, 140
 Ware, Richard A., 47
 Warren, Robert H., 78
 Warsaw Talks:
 End of, 80
 Kissinger memoranda, 63, 67, 69
 Planning, 5, 6, 48, 53, 59, 61
 Stoessel reports, 62, 68
 U.S.-ROC relations and, 71, 76
 Washington Special Actions Group, 29,
 32, 43
 Watson, Arthur K., 213, 214, 229, 242,
 248
 Watson, Barbara, 35
 Weinberger, Caspar W., 268
 Wei Tao-ming, 44, 52, 71, 92, 189, 272
 Wei Tung, 149, 155
 Wen, Gen. Bat, 8, 244
 Westmoreland, Gen. William, 108, 148
 Wheeler, Gen. Earle G., 14, 18, 25, 97
 Whitaker, John C., 250

- Winters, Ernst, 79
- World Bank. *See* International financial institutions, ROC participation.
- Wright, W. Marshall, 97, 175, 237
- Wu, Y. L., 47
- Yahya Khan, Agha Muhammad:
Indo-Pakistani conflict, 173, 197, 231
Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 125, 130
Nixon discussions, 20
Pakistan channel, 54, 55, 70, 94, 98, 99
PRC envoy invitation, 122
- Yang Hsi-kun, 146, 174, 179, 181
- Yeh, George, 174
- Yeh Chien-ying:
Kissinger China visit (July 1971), 139, 140, 141, 142, 143
Kissinger China visit (Oct. 1971), 163
Kissinger China visit (June 1972), 234
Nixon China visit (Feb. 1972), 195, 201
- Yeh Wei-lan, 62
- Yen, C. K., 93, 121, 174, 215, 237
- Yen-chun, Gen. Louie, 93
- Yokoboki, Yoichi, 65
- Yost, Charles, 37
- Yugoslavia, 60, 164
- Ziegler, Ronald L., 195, 198, 201, 203
- Zumwalt, Adm. Elmo R., Jr., 148, 223, 224